

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
TRSE-00 /066 W
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R 091230Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6526
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMCONSUL ZAGREB

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT YO
SUBJECT: REPUBLICAN AND PROVINCIAL PARTY CONGRESSES:
FIVE DOWN, THREE TO GO

REF: A) BELGRADE 2117 B) GERBER-COVIC MEMCON OF APR 4, 1978
(NOTAL)

SUMMARY: IN PREPARATION FOR THE 11TH LCY CONGRESS IN JUNE,
PARTY ORGANIZATIONS OF FIVE OF YUGOSLAVIA'S EIGHT REPUBLICS
AND AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES HAVE COMPLETED THEIR RESPECTIVE
CONGRESSES. RESOLUTIONS AND COMMISSION REPORTS OF ALL FIVE
ADDRESS BASICALLY THE SAME POINTS: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND
STABILIZATION, FULLER DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-MANAGEMENT AND THE
POLITICAL SYSTEM, AND THE ROLE OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS
(LC) IN BOTH AREAS. WHILE EMPHASIS ON SPECIFIC POINTS VARIES
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FROM REPUBLIC TO REPUBLIC, TREND APPEARS TO STRESS
CONTINUITY WITH MINOR ADJUSTMENTS TO IMPROVE EXISTING PLITICO-
ECONOMIC STRUCTURE. END SUMMARY.

1. LC CONGRESSES ARE NOW COMPLETE IN FIVE OF YUGOSLAVIA'S
EIGHT REPUBLICS AND AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES. SLOVENE CONGRESS,
WHICH ENDED APRIL 6, WAS FOLLOWED DURING WEEK OF APRIL 24-30

BY THOSE OF CROATIA, MONTENEGRO, MACEDONIA, AND VOJVODINA.
STILL TO BE HEARD FROM ARE BOSNIA/HERCEGOVINA (MAY 9-11),
KOSOVO (MAY 11-12) AND SERBIA (MAY 29-31).

2. ALL THE CONGRESSES HEWED TO THE SAME LINE, DEVOTING
MUCH ATTENTION TO ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, CENTERING ON NEED FOR
"REALIZATION OF A DYNAMIC ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT UNDER
STABLE CONDITIONS" (MONTENEGRIN LC PRESIDENT SRZENTIC). WITHIN
THAT FRAMEWORK THEY VARIOUSLY EMPHASIZED MORE EFFICIENT
ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, NEED FOR INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY, MORE
EFFECTIVE USE OF INVESTMENT FUNDS, GREATER UTILIZATION
OF ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY AND SCIENCE, HIGHER PERSONAL INCOME,
AND MORE CONTROL BY THE WORKERS OVER DISTRIBUTION OF PROFITS.
ALSO STRESSED WAS THE NEED FOR "ADJUSTING SPENDING TO
REALISTIC ECONOMIC POSSIBILITIES." (RESOLUTION OF MACEDONIAN LC.)

3. ALSO CALLED FOR WAS INCREASED AWARENESS BY WORKERS OF
THEIR SELF-MANAGEMENT RIGHTS THROUGH FURTHER "DEMOCRATIZATION"
OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM. SLOVENES EXPRESSED "UNRESERVED
SUPPORT FOR THE POINTS OF DEPARTURE AND DIRECTIONS FROM THE
STUDY OF EDVARD KARDELJ." THIS ASSURES THAT WORKERS
"ACTUALLY DO INFLUENCE" SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, AND TAKE AN
ACTIVE PART IN THE DIVISION OF INCOME. BUT IN THIS PROCESS
THE PARTY'S ROLE IS CENTRAL: "THE ORGANIZED FORCES OF
SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGEMENT, AMONG WHICH THE LC IS THE
LEADING IDEO-POLITICAL FORCE... ARE THE SKELETON OF THE ENTIRE
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DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM," (CROATIAN LC PRESIDENT PLANINC). PARTY MEMBERS
MUST THEREFORE BE MORE INVOLVED, ESPECIALLY AT LC BASIC
ORGANIZATION LEVEL, AND BEHAVE ACCORDING TO DEMOCRATIC
CENTRALISM PRINCIPLES. ALSO MENTIONED WERE EQUALITY OF
NATIONALITIES AND OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, NON-ALIGNMENT,
SUPPRESSION OF NATIONALISM, AND IMPROVEMENTS IN THE SOCIAL SECTOR.
THE CONGRESSES ALSO APPROVED CHANGES IN THE PARTY STATUTE MODELED
ON THOSE PROPOSED FOR THE LCY CONGRESS (BELGRADE 2117).

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4. DESPITE THE BASIC SIMILARITY CERTAIN SLIGHT DIFFERENCES
IN EMPHASIS WERE NOTICEABLE, PARTICULARLY IN THE KEYNOTE
SPEECHES, DIFFERENCES REFLECTIVE OF EACH REPUBLIC'S
PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES.

5. WHILE CONGEN ZAGREB IS REPORTING SEPARATELY ON THE
SLOVENE AND CROATIAN CONGRESSES, IT APPEARS THAT THEY WERE
RELATIVELY LESS INSISTENT ON DEVELOPMENT PER SE, CALLING
INSTEAD FOR GREATER EFFICIENCY, RATIONAL USE OF RESOURCES,
AND HIGHER PRODUCTIVITY. THE SLOVENES ESPECIALLY FAVORED
BETTER MANAGEMENT AND MORE TECHNOLOGY, WHILE THE CROATIANS
WERE A BIT MORE SELF-SATISFIED. PLANINC NOTED THAT "EFFORTS
OF THE PAST FOUR YEARS WERE SUFFICIENT TO BRING US OUT OF
TENSION AND CRISIS, ENOUGH FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL
STABILIZATON ... WE HAVE SUCCEEDED AS A SOCIETY."
THE TONE WAS ONE OF CONSOLIDATING GAINS THROUGH PARTY
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ACTIVITY. GENERALLY THESE CONGRESSES SEEMED LESS SHARPLY
FOCUSED ON SPECIFIC ISSUES AND MORE THEORETICALLY
ORIENTED.

6. IN MONTENEGRO, LCM PRESIDENT SRZENTIC TOOK A VERY
DETAILED APPROACH, NOTING THAT DESPITE STRONG EFFORTS,
ECONOMIC GAP BETWEEN MONTENEGRO AND THE DEVELOPED
REPUBLICS HAS NOT DECREASED. THE CONGRESS ESPECIALLY STRESSED THE
NEED FOR ECONOMICALLY VIABLE INVESTMENT PROJECTS.

7. MACEDONIAN CONGRESS HIGHLIGHTED REPUBLIC'S ECONOMIC
ACHIEVEMENTS BUT ALSO RECOGNIZED THE EXISTENCE OF AN
ECONOMIC GAP. BUT THE DELEGATES DEVOTED ROUGHLY EQUAL

ATTENTION TO POLITICAL FACTORS, CALLING FOR "GREATER LEVEL OF LC ORGANIZATION," MORE IDEO-POLITICAL TRAINING FOR MEMBERS, OVERCOMING INERTIA, AND CONSISTENT IMPLEMENTATION OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM. THERE WAS ATTENTION TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ESPECIALLY RELATIONS WITH ALBANIA, THE RESOLUTION CLAIMING THAT PROGRESS IN TOTAL YUGOSLAV COOPERATION WITH ALBANIA IS "A LASTING INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES." THOUGH RESOLUTION INCLUDED PREDICTABLE REFERENCES TO YUGOSLAV NATIONAL MINORITIES IN BULGARIA AND AUSTRIA (AS DID RESOLUTION IN SOME OTHER CONGRESSES), MACEDONIAN REFERENCE TO THE "RIGHTS OF THE MACEDONIAN MINORITY IN ALBANIA" WAS UNIQUE.

7. PROCEEDING IN VOJVODINA LEANED SLIGHTLY MORE TOWARD PARTY ORTHODOXY THAN IN THE OTHER REPUBLICS. VOJVODINA ALONE HAD SEPARATE COMMISSIONS ON THE PARTY STATUTE AND ON "COMPLAINTS AND PETITIONS", BOTH OF WHICH KEYED ON "DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM AS THE BASIC RULE OF ACTIVITY," THE OBLIGATIONS OF LC MEMBERS, AND THE ROLE OF THE LC, WHICH MUST BE WITHIN THE DELEGATE SYSTEM. STILL, LC VOJVODINA PRESIDENT
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ALIMPIC ALSO MENTIONED THE NEED FOR A UNITARY YUGOSLAV MARKET AND STRESSED THAT, IN ORDER TO BE SUCCESSFUL, INVESTMENT AND PRODUCTION DECISIONS MUST "ALWAYS BEGIN FROM THE MARKET."

8. SOME OF THE CHANGES RESULTING FROM THE CONGRESSES AND THE REVISION OF THE PARTY STATUTE SEEM TO MOVE IN TWO DIRECTIONS AT ONCE-- TOWARDS BOTH DECENTRALIZATION AND STRONGER PARTY CONTROL. THE YUGOSLAVS CLAIM THEY ARE CONTINUING, WITH PERHAPS A BIT OF MODIFICATION, ON A PATH THEY HAVE FOLLOWED SINCE THE 1950'S, ONE IN WHICH "DEMOCRACY" AND THE LC GO HAND IN HAND. IT IS SURELY IN PART THIS CONCEPT OF IDEOLOGICAL CONTINUITY WHICH HAS LED YUGOSLAV LEADERS TO PROCLAIM, AS DOLANC AND INTERNAL AFFAIRS SECRETARY HERLJEVIC RECENTLY HAVE, THAT YUGOSLAVIA IS "THE MOST STABLE COUNTRY" IN THE WORLD. EQUALLY IMPORTANT IS THAT THEY WANT TO PROJECT A BELIEVABLE IMAGE OF AN INTERNALLY STABLE SYSTEM WHICH WOULD NOT BE ALTERED IN THE EVENT OF TITO'S DEMISE.

9. PARTY LEADERS HAVE SAID FOR SOME TIME THAT THE 11TH LCY CONGRESS WOULD PRODUCE NO MAJOR CHANGES OF DIRECTION. WHILE THERE IS NEW EMPHASIS ON NOT AIRING DISSENTING VIEWS IN PUBLIC AND ON FOLLOWING PARTY DIRECTIVES, INTERESTINGLY THERE APPEARS ALSO TO BE NEW EMPHASIS ON ENCOURAGING MEMBERS WITH DIFFERENT OPINIONS TO EXPRESS THEM (WITHIN THE PARTY).
EAGLEBURGER

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